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851 [622] the family, what its name was to be, and so on. The birth of a chief's child was announced by the blowing of his conch.

846 262 853 854 For some time after birth the mother was not allowed to eat anything cold. Breadfruit paste was heated by dropping hot stones into a bowl full of it. The mother's food was prepared thus for three weeks or a month after delivery—this was supposed to stimulate the flow of milk. Soon after the birth, a purgative was given to the child. This was made by pounding shrimps with a stone pounder and mixing them with coconut milk. After the mixture had been cooked it had the appearance of curry [278] sauce. This was fed to the child for two or three days after birth before suckling began, and is said to have made the *tutai putona* (juices) come out from the child's intestinal system. *Popoi* was fed to infants at a very early age. Young babies were also fed on *mei hupaku*. (See Preparation of Food.) The breadfruit was picked, its ripening hastened by means of a guava stick, and after three days was put in an oven and baked in its skin for three hours. It was then allowed to cool and the meat closest to the core was scraped out, chewed to a pulp by the mother and fed to [602] the child. All food given to infants was chewed by a relative.

Birth Feast

431 852 A feast for the members of the family was given at the house on the day of the birth of the child. At this time, the mother's brothers and the father's sisters cut off their hair and took it to an ornament maker to have it made into hair ornaments, which were to belong to the child. According to Langsdorff (18, p. 152) a hog was killed on the day of the birth and another some days after, when the navel string fell off. The first hog was generally eaten by the father alone, but friends were invited to partake of the second. It was customary for relatives and friends to carry presents to the child on the day of birth. To the child of a chief all the members of the tribe came bearing presents. Dordillon gives *tounahoo* as a word meaning carrying presents to someone, especially to a new-born child. *Umauma* was a present given to a woman before the birth of her first child, *ava ava*, a present given a woman after her child had been born.

Erection of Shrine for Child

852 A ceremonial priest *(tuhuna o'ono)* was employed to chant for the newly born the chant called *aumeha*. (See Chants.) At the same time an altar *(ahu)* was erected by the father near the sacred place of the family. This was made of fau poles *(kou fau)* decorated with white cloth and arranged like a fence surrounding a slightly elevated, small platform

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was cut, was always given to the boy, who preserved it. The *tuhuna tehe* took some *pu'u moina (pu'u*, fruit; *moina*, an unidentified herb or bush), and squeezed the juice from it into the wound, after which the boy was taken back to his father, who heated a small black boulder in the sun, and wrapped it in *noni* leaves. The member was laid on this and allowed to rest there until the skin became hard. There was no patron deity of *tehe* in Pua Ma'u, nor was there any prayer or chant that accompanied the operation—according to the informant. I cannot but believe that anciently there were such religious features accompanying the work.

After the wound was healed the operation was celebrated with a *ko'ina tuhi ue*, the name of which would indicate that the rite was for the purposes of exhibiting the virile member *(tuhi*, to show; *ue*, the male organ). This rite was performed at the tribal dance place (*taha ko'ina*). The boy was carried [?naked] on the dance floor *(tohua)* on the head of his maternal uncle. Feasting, chanting, and dancing followed.

Tattooing

Since the subject of tattooing *(patu tiki)* has been treated at length elsewhere,[8] only a brief summary description will be given here. Youths were tattooed between the ages of fifteen and twenty. So far as could be ascertained, the tattooing rites were only indirectly connected with adolescence and were undertaken when the tribe was not occupied in harvesting breadfruit. When a man planned to have his oldest son tattooed, he began raising pigs and growing paper mulberry for cloth some time in advance of the beginning of the work. When it was decided to have the operation performed, the youths of the community erected a special sacred house *(oho au patu tiki)*, in which the work was to be done. To obtain the materials for this structure, and also food for the tattooers and themselves, they raided the place of the man who was paying for the work, demolishing all his houses except his sleeping house, and taking all the pigs and paper mulberry that he had raised. The food and material for cloth constituted payment to the *ka'ioi* for their work. During the whole time of the operation the inmates of the *tapu* house were all fed by the family of the youth for whom the work was organized. Such rites were undertaken only for first-born sons. Others had to obtain their tattooing as *ka'ioi*. The tattooing house was regarded as belonging to this boy, who was called *opou*. One or more *tuhuna* were employed to put the designs on the boy. When the *opou*, on account of sickness resulting from

[8] Handy, Willowdean C., Tattooing in the Marquesas: B. P. Bishop Mus., Bulletin 1, Honolulu, 1922.

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FISH POISONING

226 278 Fish poisoning (*te ika kohuhu*) was done both by men and women. The root of the *kohuhu* (?), a kind of broom, was commonly used. It was rubbed on the rocks enclosing pools filled with sea water in which fish had been stranded at low tide, or it was carried down among rock crevices along the shore by divers. The fruit of the *hutu* tree (*Barringtonia speciosa*) was used for the same purpose. According to Jardin (15, pp. 38-9) the fresh fruit was opened with a stone and rubbed on the rocks. The poisoned fish floated to the surface. Fish were sometimes poisoned in deep water, men diving with the crushed *hutu* and releasing it under water. The poisoning did not effect the flesh for eating. There was no poisoning of fish in streams. In few, if any, of the streams in the Marquesas were there fish large enough to be worth catching.

FISHING TERMINOLOGY[11]

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Ahu. Fishermen's shrine.
Aho. Rolled corn made of fau bark or any cord.
Ausea. Small fish net; to fish with this net.
Au-oa. Long braid of leaves to hem in fish.
Ava-ika. Fisherman.
Ava-ika ke'i, ava-ika nui, or tuhuna nui upena. The master fisherman who performed the fishing rites and directed the work.
Ave huhu. Slip knot, noose.
E au upena. Inclusive term for all the gods connecting with fishing.
E fao te ika. To carry into the valley the whole catch of fish.
Fa'e tuma'u. Cookhouse of fishermen.
Fata'a. The shrine inside the oho au pu'e.
Fiifii. Small net for catching tortoises.
Fi'o na aho. The process of making the cord for the net.
Fi'o fi'o. Fishline.
Haa papa. To seek fish from canoes returning from fishing.
Hakatoto o te upena. Ceremony of making a fish net powerful
Hakahoa. Ceremony consisting of carrying fish to the house of a man's son-in-law.
Hakatuou. Food carried to the fisher to secure a share of fish—oupaa.
Hana ava-ika. The work of fishing.
Hana upena. The work of making the net.
Huitoo. Net.
Ika puhi. To fish with torches.
Ina. To hunt, to fish with a torch.
Kaaa, kakaaa. Thread used to attach bait to hook.
Kaimatio, kaimatito, kaimatiko, kaimio, kaimimioa, kaimitito, kaimititoa, kai povi, kaitani, etc. To pass a large part of the day in a river fishing for crawfish, shrimps and little fish.
Kauoa. To fish, dragging leaves to catch the fish.
Kavei. Thread which one puts at the end of the line near the hook.
Keeka. Thread fastening bait to hook.

[11] Compiled from Dordillon's dictionary (E) and my own notes.

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but one patient at a time. If a doctor stumbled when he was on his way to procure the materials used in making his medicine, he must turn back and start all over again. The hands of a doctor were *tapu* during the time that he was treating a patient, and he could not feed himself with them. Little is remembered today of the manner of professional practice, although natives still make use of some of their old remedies, most of them, however, like the rest of their culture, having been forgotten. Massage appears to have been little practised, though rheumatism was treated by rubbing with scented coconut oil. I understand that a great number of native remedies are recorded in a manuscript left by Père Pierre. Unfortunately I did not have the opportunity of examining this manuscript, which will, I hope, some day be published, as it would furnish students with what is certainly a far more complete study of native remedies than could possibly be made today.

A potion called *makiikaeva*, which seems to have been used to restore health or life to an invalid (*fainu no te menava*), was made up as follows: Two old coconuts were grated and squeezed, the inner bark of a *fau* tree bearing red flowers (*hau toto*) was mashed, three stalks of sugar-cane were pounded, five taro roots were grated and seven *noni* fruits were mashed. The potion pressed from this mixture was drunk without heating (9).

After a woman had given birth to a child, she ate a kind of fish called *koukape* with *tiaa*, hot breadfruit paste. A magical concept seems clearly to be the basis of this remedy, for *koukape* also means a membrane in the interior of the intestinal cavity (mesentery).

When a woman's breasts (*u*) were inflamed (*hehe*), the doctor applied to them three or four leaves of the *noni* and cut these in various places with a strip of bamboo, being careful not to touch the breasts (4).

When a person had bad eyes, the practitioner rolled a piece of cloth in a hollow pipe, at one end of which he held a light. The person whose eyes were afflicted looked through the roll of cloth at the light for healing.

Pueva appears to be a name that was applied on Nuku Hiva to various maladies of infants, supposed to result from the mother's having eaten or handled something harmful to the child during the period of her pregnanacy. The symptoms of *pueva* are described as manifesting themselves in anything from sores and itchings to noises in breathing. The remedy for such an affliction consisted in the mother's burning the article, or a part of the article, that was thought to have been the medium of the evil influence, and putting the ashes on the baby's tongue. In order to safeguard her coming child, a woman, therefore, saved a bit of everything that she ate during the whole time of her pregnancy. If, after its birth, the child developed *pueva*, these materials were at hand to be burned. If

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she had neglected to save these scraps, the mother had to find out (presumably with the aid of a *tau'a*) what had caused the trouble and then seek the material. Sometimes the cause of the trouble was indicated by some noise made by the child. One informant said that she knew of a child who made a noise like a donkey, and that the mother had to get some hairs of a donkey and burn them. If it was a chicken that had caused the trouble, a chicken had to be found—all of it that was not burned as a remedy had to be thrown away.

The remedy used today for the illness called *pa'atita*, which manifests itself in sores attacking the nose, mouth, and private parts, consists in mixing iron rust with lime juice and plastering the sores with this salve.

On Nuku Hiva two remedies were given to women supposed to be afflicted with the evil spirits called *hanaua* (*fanaua*). The first was powdered pearl shell mixed with the water from a very young, green-skinned coconut. The mixture was drunk as a potion. The second remedy was made of scraps of bark of the candlenut tree (*Aleurites triloba*), of the *fau*, and of the *kehia* tree (*Eugenia sp.*) and the skin of the *heutu* (*Musa fei*) beaten together into a pulp. This pulp was put into a cloth, and the juice squeezed out. A dose of the bitter potion thus prepared was drunk by the patient, while the doctor struck the woman on the head with a *noni* leaf in order to drive out the evil spirit. According to my informant, the bitter potion was conceived of as owing its potency against the spirit to its disagreeable taste.

When a woman was thought to be afflicted with *hanaua*, the following curative practice was also resorted to. A hole was dug, a fire was built in it, and certain herbs were thrown on. Sticks were then laid across the hole and the woman was made to sit on these sticks naked. It is said that this would cause her to bleed. Sometimes the bleeding would stop after a while and the woman was considered as cured. At other times the bleeding did not cease and the woman bled to death. A woman submitting to this treatment never knew whether she would be healed or would bleed to death.

The manner of doctoring an infected hand was described to me as follows. Some kind of fish, a crab, certain herbs, and powdered coconut shell were put into a coconut vessel and placed on glowing charcoal. A half coconut shell having at its top a small hole was inverted over this and the infected hand was held in the vapor coming through the hole. This was repeated three times a day on three successive days and the afflicted hand was perfectly cured. The woman doctor who performed this cure had her special match box and her *tapu* matches for making the fire.

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The Kava is a root possessing an intoxicating quality, with
which the chiefs are very fond of indulging themselves. They 276
employ persons of a lower class to chew it for them, and spit it 272
into a wooden bowl; after which a small quantity of water is
mixed with it, when the juice is strained into a neatly polished
cup, made of a cocoa-nut shell, and passed round among them.
It renders them very stupid and averse to hearing any noise; it
deprives them of their appetite, and reduces them almost to a
state of torpor; it has also the effect of making their skin fall off
in white scales, weakens their nerves, and no doubt brings on a
premature old age. They applied the word kava to every thing
we ate or drank of a heating or pungent nature. Rum and wine
was called kava; pepper, mustard, and even salt, with the nature [263]
and use of which they are entirely unacquainted, were called
kava, as was also our spittle. A mineral water of a strong taste, 272
several springs of which are to be found on the island, and are 278
held in high estimation by the natives for the cure of scrofulous
and some other complaints, is called *vie kava*.

The bread fruit tree has been so often and so minutely de- 245
scribed by other voyagers, that a description of it here may be
thought by some superfluous. Their fruit-trees, except those
which are tabbooed, are without enclosure; their smaller and
more delicate plants, as well as their roots, have only a wall to
prevent the depredations of hogs. Their houses are open in 674
front, and their furniture, many parts of which are of great value
to them, is entirely exposed. Their hogs are wandering in every
part of the valley; their fishing nets and their clothes are left ex-
posed on the beach, and spread on the grass; no precautions are
taken to guard against theft, and I therefore conclude that thefts
among themselves are unknown.

During our operations at the camp, where carpenters, coopers,
armourers, sail-makers, &c. were employed, it is natural to sup-
pose that small tools, and articles of great value, were exposed to
the natives. As from sunrise to sunset the camp was perfectly
invested with them, it would have been impossible to prevent, or
to have detected thefts, had they been so inclined. But as
numerous as they were, constantly assisting us in our labours,
mixing with our men, sitting for hours, eyeing with the greatest
attention the different works, carrying, or handling and examin-
ing tools of every description, entering our tents and houses,
performing for us many domestic services, assisting us in our
wars, carrying for us our arms, our clothing, and provisions,
being absent from us whole days with those precious things, still,
during our stay, no article was ever missed by any person, ex-
cept some trifles which were pilfered from the sailors by the girls,
and this was, in all probability, in retaliation for the tricks which

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APPARATUS USED IN FISHING

The Marquesans used four methods of fishing; poisoning, spearing, hook and line fishing, and net fishing. The first of these methods was by far the simplest, but owing to the rugged nature of the coast there were few places in which it could be profitably employed. Three substances were used; the fruit of *Barringtonia speciosa*, the flowers of *Tephrosia piscatoria*, and the leaves and young shoots of *Rhyncosia punctata*. (The use of *Rhyncosia punctata* may be post-European.) The use of the Barringtonia appears to have been limited to small pools in the rock; the fruit was split with a flake knife and rubbed on the rocky sides of the pool, stupifying the fish and causing them to rise to the surface. The Tephroisia and Rhyncosia were used for deep fishing. Holes or small caves among the rocks were located by diving. A quantity of the crushed poison was enclosed in leaves, forming a tight bundle, and with this the fisherman dived, shaking the poison out into the caves. He then returned to the surface and waited for the stupified fish to rise.

FISH SPEARS

Large fish, especially the giant ray (*fafaua*) were speared from canoes. The spear was provided with a detachable head to which a line was attached. The head was made of hard wood or bone, its upper end was cut with a jog which rested against a corresponding jog on the end of the shaft, and was attached to the shaft by light lashings. The form of this head can be seen from the accompanying photograph of a specimen in the United States National Museum (Pl. LXX, *C*), although the carved decoration is unusual.

Smaller fish were speared from the rocks with a many-pronged spear. Only a general description of this implement was obtained, but one form called *matavau* (Handy) is said to have had twelve prongs attached to the shaft by three rows of sennit binding. The natives also swam after certain species of fish and speared them in the water, a practice still common in the Society Islands and the Tuamotus.

The spearing of fish from the rocks, and most of the net and hook fishing, were carried on at night by the light of torches. These torches were of three sorts; those made of sugar cane (now obsolete), of bamboo and of coconut fronds.

The sugar cane torches are said to have been made by tying up the leaves of a dry stalk into a compact bundle. Coconut torches were made from a single dry palm frond. Beginning at the tip, the leaflets were directed upward and tied by passing single leaflets around the bundle at intervals of a foot or more. Such a torch when lit at the tip needed no tending, and would burn down gradually with a good light. Bamboo torches were made by crushing a long dry joint of bamboo, care being taken not to break it across. The scattered fibers held the bunch of dry strips together without additional binding. This form is the one most used at present for night fishing from canoes.

/26 cont./
rationale. Certain deviate individuals have refused to undergo circumcision, possibly /27/ as a concession to campaigns carried on by some French missionaries to stamp out the practice. One entire family in Taiohae has traditionally refused to be circumcised. Many males of this family have ultimately yielded to intense social pressure from their male friends, and also from their wives, being circumcised finally in their late twenties. Much of this pressure is exerted in the form of constant oblique joking about circumcision and people who are unclean. In the case of the wives, however, more direct pressure can be exerted. Their requests are usually in the form: "Why aren't you like other men?"

Circumcision in the Marquesas involves a very loose approximation to the true meaning of the term, for the operation involves a longitudinal incision through the foreskin on the dorsal aspect of the glans penis (po'ama).

A group of boys are gathered together and circumcised at one time by an individual who specializes in this operation. It is often attempted to have a relative of the parents generation perform the operation. No attempt is made to anesthetize the locale of the incision. The foreskin is stretched tightly over a slip of bamboo which has been inserted between it and the glans, while the incision is made with a razor blade or knife. Recently, scissors have come into vogue in Taiohae, as it is said that they make a much cleaner incision. In the aboriginal past, incisions were made with bamboo knives.

/28/ After circumcision, a medicinal preparation is applied to speed healing of the incision and prevent infection. This consists of the astringent juice of the candle-nut tree bark ('ama = A. trilobita) and the leaves of the kaka'a hue (Diellia Brownii). (Two other plants are also used but we could not identify them.) This is applied daily after bathing, at which time the area around the wound is carefully cleaned; then the penis is placed with the dorsal side against a sun-heated stream boulder until it is dried. The heat from the stream boulder is believed to have a beneficial effect on the healing process.